

VOL. XXXII. NO. 9,743.

THE REFORM CAMPAIGN.

ILLINOIS LIBERALS IN COUNCIL.
JOINT DEMOCRATIC AND LIBERAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTIONS AT SPRINGFIELD TO-DAY—REMARKABLE HARMONY AND ENTHUSIASM—B. GRATZ BROWN TO SPEAK—THE PROBABLE CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., June 25.—Never since the great conflicts between Lincoln and Douglas, when both Republicans and Democrats assembled in multitudes to hear their champions in debate, has the State of Illinois been stirred by such political enthusiasm as now. A Convention at any time in these Western States, where representation is on the most generous scale, is an exciting event, particularly when, as in the present case, a full State ticket is to be placed before the people; but now, beside the novel circumstances of a great political revolution and the consequent confusion of parties, the representatives of two political divisions come together for the settlement of mutual differences and the reconciliation of mutual prejudices. To this end the Democrats and Liberal Republicans will hold a double Convention to-morrow, both bodies meeting simultaneously in prearranged session, and finally concluding for the conclusion of their work. The two Conventions will comprise nearly 1,500 delegates, these being, however, not one-third of the crowd that is expected. Every road in the State running to this central city has put on extra trains, and the hotels are already overrun with visitors.

There are, of course, more attractions than the discussions of the Conventions, to arouse all this commotion, for this is the first marked Liberal demonstration in the State approaching national importance, and the foremost representatives of the cause are to take prominent part in the business on hand. The Cincinnati nominee for Vice-President, Gov. B. Gratz Brown, is to address the combined Conventions, and Senator Trumbull and Gov. Palmer will reaffirm their ratification of the Cincinnati movement. It was expected that Senator Schurz, also, would speak to the Liberals of Illinois on this occasion, but that gentleman thought it only proper that his first utterances in the campaign should be addressed to his own constituency, and he will therefore open the canvass in St. Louis within a few days by one of the most careful efforts of his life. Among those who will take part in this Convention as delegates are J. K. Dubois, Horace White, Leonard Sweet, Gov. Koerner, D. L. Phillips, ex-Gov. Bros, Judge Otis, and a score of others, influential in State and National politics. Every district in the State has a full delegation of Liberals, including, generally, the best men in the party; and this, with the immense Democratic attendance, will make one of the most memorable political gatherings ever held in the State, aside from the National Conventions.

Almost all the Democratic Congressmen of the State are here, and the most prominent of them are earnestly bent on guiding the party to a straightforward endorsement of the Cincinnati ticket. Among the most conspicuous workers are S. S. Marshall, J. C. Robinson, Col. W. R. Morrison, Gen. J. M. Greb, Geo. W. Wall, R. P. Hanna, Gen. McLeod, M. A. Knapp, and C. A. Lamphier. These gentlemen not only sustain Greeley and Brown, but are anxious to form a strong Liberal ticket.

From the harmonious tone of these men and the known preference of the Democratic delegates, it is easy to forecast the result of to-morrow's deliberations. Not only are the district delegates pledged to Greeley and Brown, but the controlling minds of the party throughout the State are in hearty accord with the popular current. The editor of *The Chicago Times*, Mr. Storey, who alone opposes the endorsement of Greeley and Brown, finding the sentiment so unanimous, is disposed to cease his opposition, and although he thinks Mr. Greeley too pronounced a Republican to act as a conciliator in this emergency, he intimates that he will make no resistance when the Baltimore Convention has announced its decision. He is convinced that in any event Greeley will be the destruction of the Democracy, and "like Pontius Pilate, he washes his hands of the matter, and allows his party to be crucified on the great Radical."

The kindest spirit of compromise prevails as to State nominations. The Republicans are somewhat divided as to their choice for Governor, Trumbull, Palmer, and Koerner being especially favored, but between the three there is an amiable rivalry to have one of the others selected. Mr. Trumbull is very reluctant to be made a candidate, and many of his friends sympathize with his scruples. He thinks that the renomination of Gov. Palmer would do much to strengthen the movement, and also believes the ticket would be strong if headed by Gov. Koerner. There is a general willingness, however, to select any of these three, and a strong confidence is felt that the peculiar elements of strength represented by all of them will go far to assure success. Among Republicans Trumbull is the favorite, as best representing the Liberal sentiment of the country, and as conveying the most formidable menace to the office-holding machinery of the State. Gov. Koerner, however, is an advanced and conspicuous Liberal, and would attach the German vote to the movement beyond doubt. It is generally admitted, at the same time, that Gov. Palmer should have the place if he is willing to take it, though it is feared that he may have alienated some friends by his vigorous and outspoken course during the last session of the Legislature; and it is further urged that his signature to the Liquor law may repel the larger part of the very large German vote of the State. It is also feared that the vote of Cook County (Chicago) would be divided upon him, because of his determined stand against army misprudence and lawlessness, and that when the civil authorities and citizens had surrendered the municipal functions into the hands of an irresponsible military junta. Gov. Palmer, personally, is wholly indifferent to the place, is anxious only for the success of the cause, and recommends the man who will most assiduously carry the heaviest vote by uniting all diverse elements.

He promptly rejected renomination at the hands of the Grant people before Oglesby was called in as a substitute. On all sides the Republicans are agreed that there is a movement, somewhat encouraged by Republican support, to give the first place on the ticket to a Democrat, and then to alternate on each successive office, as best serving to reconcile Democrats to Greeley and Brown, in Coolbaugh and Koerner. Mr. Coolbaugh is a Democrat of great purity of character, and but slightly identified with politics, and on that score, it is claimed, would receive the united Liberal vote, and, indeed, much of the vote that would otherwise go for the Grant ticket, especially as he is a leading banker of Chicago, and identified throughout the present State Constitution. Mr. Coolbaugh's name is held in high respect, and such a ticket would, it is affirmed, be stronger than any other combination. Mr. Koerner declares his willingness to do whatever may seem best for the interests of the party, and expresses no preference for place or person. A few notable Liberals among them the Hon. Leonard Sweet and the Hon. J. Wentworth, favor this ticket, and argue that, while with this arrangement the Liberals are sure of the largest Republican vote, with such pronounced men as Trumbull and Koerner, and Palmer they cannot be defeated by the entire Democratic vote, which must be obtained to carry the State.

It is not, however, the ticket, but the management of the Conventions, that excites the chief interest to-day. Two such bodies must necessarily be cumbersome, and it is intended to arrange, if possible, by informal committees, some expeditious method of proceeding. It is now proposed to select a temporary chairman for each Convention, and, after the

sessions have taken shape, to agree upon permanent officers. One name is to be presented from each Congress District and furnished to the chairman of each Convention for distribution on the several committees. A like number will constitute the committees on platform, electoral ticket, and the arrangement of a State organization which shall combine both parties. While the committees are consulting and perfecting their work, B. Gratz Brown, Cassius M. Clay, and others will address the combined Conventions, and when the nominations have been made and the platform adopted, Senator Trumbull will deliver before the assemblage the opening speech of the campaign.

POPULAR EXCITEMENT IN THE CITY—SPEECHES BY GOV. PALMER AND OTHERS.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., June 25.—The city is alive to-night with bands and crowds; the streets are blocked with processions passing on to the Convention, and the scene in the grounds of the Capitol reminds one of a vast picnic. Temporary stands have been erected, and speakers are addressing the people. At the main stand Gov. Palmer opened with a forcible speech, in which he explained that the city was filled with strangers, and it was deemed wise to call to action some of the ability already present to define the issues depending on to-morrow's action—an action which he trusted would result in the election of the ticket of Illinois to Greeley and Brown. He could not, he said, refrain from expressing his satisfaction at this immense and unprecedented political turnout. Never in the history of parties had such an event been known in Illinois. He was convinced from the standing and influence of those that he recognized around him that the movement had taken a firm hold upon the people, and he congratulated the assemblage that the home of Lincoln had finally come to witness a reconciliation and joining of hands between two great political divisions that had been so constantly at variance for the last 20 years. He had carefully canvassed the situation, and he was without hesitation in affirming that the Liberal party was at the opening of a campaign more auspicious for the people and more munificent in good results than any that had been waged since Lincoln's election. The men before him, the men that made up the bulk of this great organization were not adventurers in politics, with the boots and the bridges burned, for they never had depended on the one or trusted to the other. Office had never been their shibboleth, and for them the contest brought only the care and anxiety that honest men are willing to risk in the cause of reform and government regeneration.

I am here, said Gov. Palmer, heartily to welcome all of all parties in aid of this glorious mission. I am here to welcome live men fighting for live issues, and not to galvanize a party of political corpses with dead issues at stake. We have behind us a party very much distracted, and mainly moved by the passions that have been kindled in the minds of the people. These men are still fighting against slavery, and have no idea that it is abolished. They are still talking about "boys in blue" and "traitors in gray," and stirring the embers of a dead past to keep alive the memories of a forgotten contest. They are building on hate and counting on anarchy for perpetual power. We, on the contrary, banish all differences and reconcile all resentments. We, in short, mean peace. Ours is that new commandment which bids men love in harmony. We believe that the majority of the country are earnest in desiring a full and perfect peace, and that we mean to give them. We believe that the honest instinct of the country is averse to making laws for South Carolina and Louisiana, that would not be tolerated in Illinois. We believe that as all Americans are our brethren we should extend the policy of peace and amnesty of which Horace Greeley is the foremost exponent. We mean that our flag shall cover a contented, sympathetic, and thoroughly reunited people. To this end we are going to elect—not the man who represents the embodied misgovernment of half of our country; we are going to elect—not the self-righteous relative administrator; but we are going to elect old Horace Greeley to the Presidency.

The speaker went on at considerable length, discussing the probabilities of success and exposing the groundlessness of Gen. Logan's guesses in asserting that the Democrats of Illinois would vote for Grant. Many Democrats were present, and a shout of angry dissent broke out which spread throughout the crowd and fairly rang across the immense gathering. Gov. Brown concluded: "I am not for any one to be elected Grant. I am for any body to elect Greeley, and in that spirit I give my hand to the strongest Democrat of you all. One reason why I support the incorruptible editor is this: Last winter, when the party chieftain read me out of his ranks for expressing my profound and honest convictions on the shameful usurpation of Gen. Sheridan, and when every post-office edition paper in the State and country joined the hue and cry, I opened the pages of that great paper over which Horace Greeley presided for a lifetime, and found from the pen of that honest veteran the first manly word of defense and appreciation that had fallen on my attention. I said then that no man who had rendered a courtesy to John M. Palmer, should lack an honest return, and when the Cincinnati Convention put him up for the Presidency I rejoiced in the opportunity not only of being able to aid my country but to return in some measure my gratitude to an honest, outspoken journalist."

Gov. Palmer was interrupted repeatedly by tumultuous applause, and gave place to Cassius M. Clay, who was received with pronounced cheers. He referred to the amazing revolution which had taken place in the four years, brought a great party from opposing to vehemently supporting Horace Greeley and his most cherished principles. In Kentucky, where, two years ago, there was hardly anybody who would vote for Greeley, a majority of the delegates to the Baltimore Convention were now pledged to him. If Abraham Lincoln had lived amnesty would long have been granted, and the North and South would have long ago been friends, and there would be no more Ku-Klux in the United States. He then declared that he was going to vote for Greeley, and in so doing he was following the lead of the great majority of the people of the State. He made war in violation of law; he surrounded himself with a military family; he stole land from the poor colored men of Santo Domingo, and threatened that weak nation if it should resist. Mr. Clay further charged that Grant had tampered with the Judiciary, having made appointments for the purpose of affecting the decision of the Supreme Court. He also made an appeal against centralization, showed the danger of a strong Government, and declared that what was wanted was a strong Government, but a strong people. (Loud cheers.)

Although it was now late, the crowd seemed untiring and loudly demanded more speeches. The bands diverted them for a little time, but in answer to the irrepressible enthusiasm the Hon. John Wentworth was crowded to the front and made a characteristic address. Mr. Wentworth alluded facetiously to the errors of the Administration, and coming down personally to the President, said that in the old country, when revolutions occur, the King always sends his children abroad, and that Grant had sent most of his children across the sea, and now he had gone and settled down on the shore himself. (Cheers.) He was glad the innocent children were out of harm's way in this great ground-swell of the Republic. Greeley, he said, was sure to be nominated at Baltimore, and the decree of a Democratic Convention was always final. He was formerly a Democrat, and trained for many years in their ranks, and was heartily glad to welcome the Democrats back to his bosom. He had failed to win battles. Now try Grant by this test; has he had the whole army, the whole navy, and two-thirds of both houses of Congress for three years, and he has not put down the Ku-Klux yet. Let him be sent home. He is a failure, judged by his own rules.

STIRRING REFORM MEETING AT SYRACUSE.

(BY TELEGRAPH TO THE TRIBUNE.)

SYRACUSE, N. Y., June 25.—The first public meeting of the Syracuse Greeley and Brown Club, held this evening, was largely attended. A thousand persons were present, nearly half of them Liberal Republicans. The President of the club read a telegram from Mr. Depew, who was unable to be present, but heartily sympathized with the cause. The Hon. Henry B. Stanton, a telling speech, prefacing with just enough of political history for proper ground-work. He spoke as a Republican—not as a "sorehead" either, for he had not been refused personally or by any friends any favor asked of Grant. Mr. Stanton exhorted the statesmanlike of Grant, his Carpet-bag Government, his unwarranted assumptions of power, his demands for more power with which to reflect himself,

the unconstitutional legislation, perhaps exposable during war, should be done away with. We should long ago have got back within constitutional limits, but this man and his satellites would not permit it. The war of arms was over seven years ago, and it was high time real peace were established now. The idea of Grant's paying the debt was absurd. The people were paying it, and the land was still blighted all over with revenue stamps. The financial policy, good or bad, was Grant's. He did not think it the best for any man, for the people needed relief from the great burdens laid on them. Why talk of reflecting Grant to pay him for military services? Had he not been already paid? Grant was a good soldier, but the poorest statesman man had ever had at the head of the nation. The reflection of Grant in the interests of Civil Service Reform was the most ludicrous claim of all, when we look at his manner of reform with the horde of one-sidedness that covered and like the lice of Egypt. The best road to Civil Service Reform is the one-term principle, and for that we shall lay the ground. They may laugh at his old hat, but it covers a head brimming over with grand ideas; it is the crown of a heart full of kind and noble fellow men; in every part of this land at his awkward gait, but he walks in the path of justice and reform. He may be a muddle with Spain, with Mexico, and with Santo Domingo. We wanted no more of this great effort and neglect. Every allusion to Mr. Greeley was received with hearty applause, and the meeting closed with enthusiastic cheers for the Liberal and Democratic candidates, and for the speaker of the evening.

VIRGINIA POLITICS.

THE CONSERVATIVE CONVENTION AT RICHMOND.

(BY TELEGRAPH TO THE TRIBUNE.)

RICHMOND, June 25.—Preparations are actively going forward for the Convention to be held here June 27. The resident members of the State Committee and the other leading Conservatives of the State as far as is known, unanimously favor the election of Greeley to Baltimore for Governor. No division of sentiment in the Convention is anticipated, and the body will certainly choose Greeley delegates. Gen. Jas. L. Kemper of Madison and the Hon. Wm. Smith of Fauquier are spoken of as presiding officers. The Convention will be held in the theater, and minor questions of party organization are expected to come up after the important work is done. A dispatch to a New-York journal representing Judge Crump and Judge Ould as uncommitted to Greeley is the exact reverse of the truth. Public sentiment here is nearly unanimous for the Cincinnati ticket.

VIEWS OF AN ANTI-GREELEY EDITOR—NEWSPAPER DOUBTSMON EXPLAINED—STRENGTH OF THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT—THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

(FROM THE SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE.)

NORFOLK, Va., June 21.—I found, to-day, a Southern white man opposed to Greeley—the first I have discovered thus far. He was at work with pen and scissors, when I came upon him, editing a daily newspaper; and, obligingly laying down the tools of the trade, he gave me his views upon the political situation. He did not belong to the Bourgeois faction, but he was sympathetic with the discontent of those Liberals who sympathized with what they wanted at Cincinnati. He had hoped for the nomination of Trumbull or Adams, and had been laboring, since the Cincinnati Convention, to bring about the abandonment of Greeley and the selection of some other candidate at Baltimore. He did not want a straight Democratic ticket put up at Baltimore—that would be ruin; but he advocated throwing Greeley aside and choosing another Liberal, Adams being his preference. He did not fairly represent the Liberal movement. His record was one of opposition to every plank in the Cincinnati platform except the amnesty plank. Gratz Brown, he acknowledged, was a representative Liberal, but Greeley was not. Besides, he feared that the Democratic party could not be united upon Greeley. He did not know how it was in the North, but he believed that there were thousands of Democrats in the South who could not be brought to vote for him in any contingency. It was too bitter a dose for them to swallow. He was taking my last placed his last hopes in the Fifth Avenue Hotel Conference, but the news from that gathering was not encouraging. At the time of our conversation only a very meager account of the doings of the Conference had been telegraphed to the Southern papers, and the editor was not aware how entirely he had been mistaken in looking to it for any action that would result in the abandonment of the Cincinnati ticket. He had been so confident of the success of the anti-Greeley movement that only two days before he had prophesied assured his readers that they had only to wait patiently for a few days to see a new name in the field. He was taking my last placed his last hopes in the Fifth Avenue Hotel Conference, but the news from that gathering was not encouraging. At the time of our conversation only a very meager account of the doings of the Conference had been telegraphed to the Southern papers, and the editor was not aware how entirely he had been mistaken in looking to it for any action that would result in the abandonment of the Cincinnati ticket. He had been so confident of the success of the anti-Greeley movement that only two days before he had prophesied assured his readers that they had only to wait patiently for a few days to see a new name in the field. He was taking my last placed his last hopes in the Fifth Avenue Hotel Conference, but the news from that gathering was not encouraging. 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